

## **Technical Notes**

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# **Consultant Roles in the Strategic Management of Policy Change**

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### **Introduction**

A persistent dilemma facing international development consultants is whether to give advice and offer solutions to host county clients or to assist them in devising their own solutions by facilitating analysis and problem-solving processes. What are suitable roles for each party? Have responsibilities and functions been differentiated so that each party knows what is expected? Are the interests and motives of each party aligned so that the host country receives the greatest benefit? Are there particular techniques and approaches to working together that tend to be more effective under certain conditions? To be successful, the relationship between the host country and assistance providers needs to be adequately planned and structured to facilitate a meaningful partnership between the parties. This Technical Note examines the centrality of these relationships in implementing policy change. It highlights the role of people and organizations in the process of implementing change what they do and how they do it.

The Implementing Policy Change (IPC) Project, funded by the US Agency for International Development (USAID), promotes an innovative approach to technical assistance that encourages a particular type of consultant role, one that emphasizes management process and host country ownership. IPC consultants stress the use of strategic management processes. In doing so, they seek to empower public and private managers in host countries with practical

knowledge and experience in applying strategic management processes and techniques so that they can achieve greater effectiveness in implementing policy reform on their own.

This Technical Note provides an assessment of the roles played by consultants and clients in this process approach underlying the IPC Project. A conceptual framework is presented and examples from the IPC experience are offered to illustrate the conceptual framework. In so doing, this Note offers a way of communicating a central element of the IPC "experiment," as well as some practical lessons for consultants and host country managers.

### **Consultant-Client Models**

### **Defining the Client and the Consultant**

The provision of foreign assistance requires the development of a relationship between the technical assistance provider and the host country, the consultant and the client. Ultimately, host countries are the clients and the owners of problems in search of solutions. Nevertheless, in IPC's experience, it has been the USAID mission that often identifies the problem and initiates the call for outside help. In these cases, it is incumbent upon the consultant to seek out the appropriate host country organizations and nationals who can serve as managers of the change process and establish a working relationship with them. The minimum requirements for viable clients

are that they are viewed (or can come to be seen) as legitimate within the host country, that they have (or can acquire) the authority to act, and that they have (or can gain) access to the essential resources needed to implement solutions.

Clients live within organizational and national cultures that shape the nature of the relationship between a client and an outside helper. As well, clients usually have certain expectations about how consultants ought to operate, which may or may not correspond to the mode of operation of the selected consultant or the most appropriate approach given the client's problem. For example, consultants are often perceived as technical experts and are brought in to "provide *the* answer" while it may be more effective to have the consultant provide management processes that the client can apply to enhance their implementation decision making.

The consultant constitutes the other essential actor in the consultation relationship. The organizational development and mediation literature describes the consultant in various ways. The popular image of the consultant is that of an expert who has the answers and provides special technical recommendations and advice (Schein, 1988). Consultants are invited into the client's organization to help deal with particular issues on behalf of the client. They are often viewed as providing active guidance and direction toward alleviating the client's problem (Argyris, 1982). At the same time, consultants are *outsiders*. Typically, they are seen as external parties to the client situation, who have no personal stake in it and are detached personally from the implications of any proposed solutions.

Perhaps the most neutral designation that can be used to characterize consultants is that they constitute a third party. This term, taken from the mediation literature, implies that the outside helper is, in fact, a party to the situation, an active and involved party, though not a principal stakeholder (who can be referred to as a first or second party — for example, a governmental or nongovernmental party). Third parties may be impartial and neutral toward the principals, usually do not have their own agendas and do not seek particular outcomes, but they are not interest-free (Rubin, 1981). Often, they are driven by very strong motives to seek a successful outcome to their endeavors and have a very clear interest in promoting particular processes and approaches with the principal stakeholders (Susskind and Ozawa, 1991). In the context of implementation assistance,

consultants may be given the assignment of enhancing the capacity of a particular government agency or nongovernmental group so that they have the tools to accomplish their implementation tasks more effectively. In such cases, the consultant can be viewed as partial to that group or organization in achieving its objectives.

### **Models of the Consultation Relationship**

Three models help to define the basic relationship between the consultant and the client.

**Content Model.** The first model reflects the *content* of the consultative relationship (Schein, 1988). It identifies the approach taken by the consultant and the kinds of information or guidance that are provided to the client (see Table 1). The model can be presented along a continuum (see Figure 1). At one end of this continuum, the consultant is viewed as a technical expert who enters the client organization and makes recommendations to solve the given problem ("expert" consultation). At the other end of the dimension, the consultant provides help to the client in organizing, guiding, processing, thinking, planning and implementing issues related to the problem area, but does not make recommendations or suggest solutions. This type of relationship is seen as a "process" consultation. Its objectives are to enhance the organizational skills of clients and empower them with the capacity to act independently and efficiently. Somewhere in between, the consultant can be brought in as a "diagnostician," to find out what is wrong with the client organization or system.

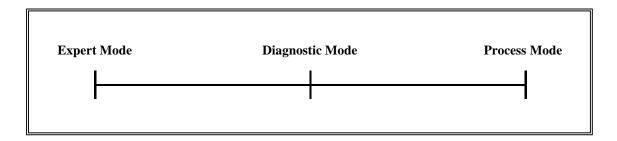
Table 1 demonstrates that the differences between pure expert and process approaches to consultation are clear. The objectives, roles, ownership of proposals, methods, and long-term sustainability of solutions in expert versus process modes are juxtaposed in the table. While the expert mode is the traditional way of thinking of consultation, process consultation provides an alternate approach to providing help. Process consultation helps others to help themselves, not by solving problems for them, but by providing them with the tools that make them self-sufficient. Brinkerhoff (1996) describes a similar array of roles, objectives and activities for technical assistance consultants from expert advisor to process facilitator. He characterizes the basic difference between these approaches by a single attribute: the technical expert is "doing for" the client, while the process facilitator is "doing with" the client.

**Table 1. Expert versus Process Consultations** 

Attribute	Process Mode	Expert Mode
Objectives	Building sustained recipient capacity for self-reliance	Diagnosis of problem and recommendation for change
Motives	Client is committed to resolving the problem; consultant is motivated to apply process techniques and develop indigenous capability in process skills	Consultant is motivated to provide answers; client is not committed to act upon advice
Roles	Consultant assists host country client; responsibility for progress is shared; consultant viewed as fact-finder, broker, counselor, mentor, coach and facilitator; client viewed as partner	Consultant takes lead in recommending action; consultant viewed as formulator, problem solver and advocate; client viewed as ultimate decision maker
Ownership of Proposals	Stakeholders and principal client own the proposals that emerge from a participatory process	Consultant owns the proposals
Preparation	Consultant provides stimulus for client's change efforts; consultant assists client in developing vision and articulating intentions, rationale, objectives and strategies; consultant guides on process management; consultant challenges old ways of looking at things and raises questions; consultant offers information and communicates experience; consultant provides skills training in process	Expert's presence may trigger interest; expert offers new thinking to the client; expert is responsible for analysis; expert offers information and judgment; expert uses experience from other situations; expert articulates action proposals and rationale to client
Method of Work	Contractual understanding with principal client is secured with mutual obligations and expectations from consultant and client; consultant assists client in mobilizing all stakeholders in designing and implementing change; consultant assists client in managing the planning and implementation processes for change	Consultant serves as technical guru and conducts advisory tasks; client is the recipient of consultant-proposed recommendations; consultant seeks to develop practical, efficient and acceptable proposals; consultant does not necessarily expect to be engaged in implementation of change recommendations unless specifically requested to help
Recommendations	Reflects consensus from team effort involving all major stakeholders	Consultant submits independent report with diagnosis and prescription

Sources: UNDP, 1995; Schein, 1987 and 1988.

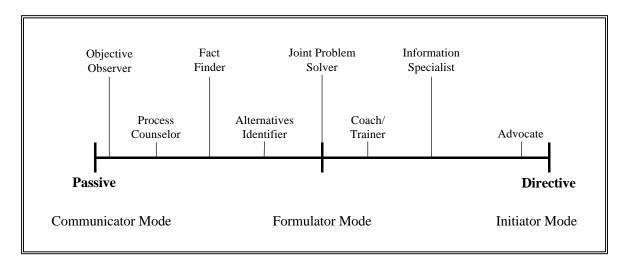
**Figure 1. Content Dimension** 



Guidance Model. The second model of the consultation relationship revolves around a *guidance dimension* (Lippitt and Lippitt, 1986; Touval and Zartman, 1985; Argyris, 1982). Figure 2 illustrates this model which focuses on the extent of direction provided by consultants in their activities. At one end of the continuum, consultation activity is relatively passive and non-directive. This type of consultant is a "communicator" and provides support to the client as an objective observer, a counselor, or a fact-finder. At

the other end of the dimension, consultation takes on a very directive and intrusive approach. This type of consultant can become an "initiator," seeking to activate or impose external solutions on the client's problems and serving as an advocate for certain positions. In between, consultants can take on the role of a "formulator" who helps the client generate alternatives, supports and participates in joint problem solving activities, trains the client in ways of solving problems, and seeks out relevant information.

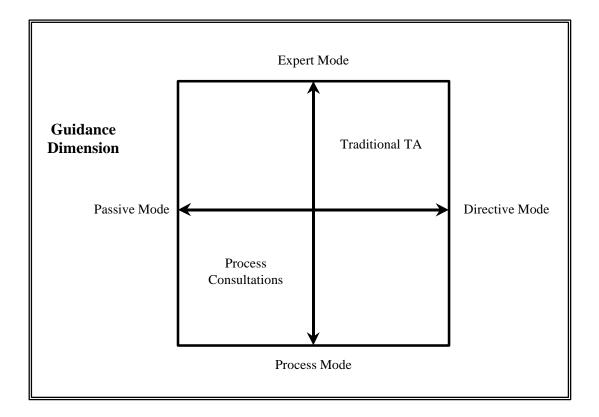
Figure 2. Guidance Dimension



**Blended Model.** When these two dimensions are combined, it is possible to design a variety of consultant-client relationships (see Figure 3). The conjunction of dimensions in this matrix helps to define different types of consulting interactions along the continua, ranging in the extreme from highly directive and expert consultations to passive and process-based consultations. But the application of extreme cases is rare. More common and useful are

hybrid or blended consultation approaches. For example, traditional technical assistance generally is dominated by directive expert consultation with some degree of process support; it would be placed somewhere in the upper right-hand quadrant. Process consultation, as described by Schein (1988) that emphasizes facilitation of client groups and collaborative problem-solving, would be located somewhere in the lower left-hand quadrant.

Figure 3. Blended Model: Content and Guidance Dimensions Combined



While the IPC Project's philosophical orientation is based somewhere in the lower left-hand quadrant, where technical assistance is characterized primarily in terms of facilitating the process of strategic management and providing coaching (Brinkerhoff, 1996), the experience of the project demonstrates the value of blended consultation approaches. Sometimes, an intervention may commence exclusively as an expert-directive consultation, engendering initial credibility and confidence in the consulting team by the host country client, and then become transformed later into a process-oriented consultation. Conversely, a consultation may begin with a process-oriented workshop that recommends the integration of expert technical assistance. Selecting the proper consultation approach for a given situation requires an assessment of client goals, the norms and standards of the client, personal styles, precedent and external events (Lippitt and Lippitt, 1986). Consulting relationships are dynamic and even when a particular approach is

chosen at the outset, it can and should be adjusted over time as the situation evolves.

### **IPC Consultation Activities**

Technical assistance consultations usually move through a life cycle of entry, task accomplishment and exit. Both the host country client and the third party consultant play important roles at each of these stages.

Each must make commitments, plan and strategize, mobilize resources, and implement in close coordination with the other. Table 2 summarizes the range of activities required of client and consultant at each stage in the life cycle. The nature of these activities depends on the mix of process and expert orientation adopted. The following descriptions focus on the basic activities of strategic management process consultants providing policy implementation support.

Table 2. Activities in the Life Cycle of a Process Consultation

Stages	Host Country Client	Third Party Consultant
Entry Strategy	<ul> <li>Identifies and/or accepts consultant</li> <li>Agreed to become a partner in performing the process</li> </ul>	Identifies client (assesses legitimacy, authority, political willingness to act, resources, etc.
	Develops consistent expectations with third party and internal stakeholders	Negotiates contract to work together (joint commitment, objectives, expectations, roles, boundaries, procedures)
	Makes commitment to the process (accepts ownership)	Establishes credibility with client (demonstrates trustworthiness)
Task Accomplishment	Participates in learning/transfer of knowledge about the process	Helps to diagnose the problem and engages client ownership
	<ul> <li>Interacts and resolves problems/disputes internally and transparently with stakeholders and constituents</li> <li>Develops recommendations</li> <li>Follows through with actions</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Blends expert and process approaches</li> <li>Facilitates problem-solving process         (promotes client communication, helps         define agenda, facilitates dialogue,         recommends approach to deal with         problems, supports analyses, helps to         allocate work, coaches and counsels,         provides feedback)</li> </ul>
Exit Strategy	<ul> <li>Commits resources to sustain the process</li> <li>Develops/redesigns structures and institutions</li> <li>Sustains local trainers and facilitators</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Trains indigenous facilitators and trainers in process skills</li> <li>Helps client design and establish institutions that can sustain process skills and apply them to future problems</li> </ul>

### **Entry Strategy**

Identify the Client. Finding appropriate clients for a strategic management process aimed at policy implementation can prove to be elusive. Few host country stakeholders have the legitimate authority and resources to implement major social, economic or environmental policy reforms, and even fewer are likely to be disposed to associate themselves with often unpopular aspects of such change efforts. Typically, responsibility is dispersed, accountability is attenuated, and authority is insufficient to plan and take the actions necessary to implement major policy changes.

For IPC consultants entering into a situation with a commitment to use and transfer strategic management approaches, there is often difficulty in establishing a viable consultant-client relationship. With whom does one hold the lengthy meetings needed to evolve and apply a strategic management approach for specific

policy changes and to whom does one aspire to transfer the approach?

Occasionally, the individuals or groups willing to serve as the de facto client, or with whom the USAID Mission has had initial discussions, are not the most appropriate choices as strategic managers of the change process. Sometimes, an appropriate individual can be found in government or the private sector, but that individual lacks the skills, predisposition or time to participate actively in the process. In other cases, responsibility rests with a network of institutions or individuals united only by their interdependence for purposes of implementing the policy in question. While these networks may constitute themselves into a coordinating apparatus or task force, they may have no formal organizational mechanism, resources or obvious leadership by which policy reform can be implemented. On occasion, the consultants must begin their primary client relationship with a donor

official rather than someone from the host country. Under such circumstances, the primary responsibility of IPC consultants is to establish an appropriate host country client relationship to ensure the viability and sustainability of the consultation and its outcome. If this cannot be established in a relatively short period of time, the utility of further IPC assistance should be called into question.

Negotiate a Contract with the Client. Once an appropriate client is found, it is essential that the consultant establish a "contract" with key members of the client organization regarding roles and expectations. Such an agreement would lay out answers to several basic questions: Why are we here? What does the client expect from the consultant and *vice versa*? For whom is the consultant working? Why does the client need a consultant? In the best case, the consultant negotiates a clear contract with individuals who are positioned and disposed to act as the strategic manager for implementation of the relevant policies.

However, entry strategies in the IPC experience are frequently complicated by the multiplicity of actors who are party to the initiation of the assignment. Host country individuals or organizations are not the only clients. As indicated earlier, many assignments are initiated by a USAID Mission or USAID/Washington office. USAID project managers in the Global Bureau are a second important client. And, certainly, the various stakeholders in the host country with the responsibility and authority for policy reform are clients as well. Ultimately, while the client role should be transferred as much as possible to host country parties, understandings need to be negotiated with all interested stakeholders, outlining roles, responsibilities and a vision of future actions and goals.

Develop Trust and Expectations. Facilitative process consultation, which is characteristic of the IPC approach, is frequently novel (although becoming less so with USAID's reengineering and increasing emphasis on host country participation) to both USAID personnel and host country officials who are used to technical assistance that offers expert advice or produces tangible products. It takes some time early in the consultation, as a result, to negotiate mutual expectations that permit IPC consultants to effectively support indigenous decision making and implementation processes. Trust and confidence must be built between the IPC consultants and their USAID Mission and host country clients. One approach to

developing this trust is to perform early technical work that establishes the consultant's credentials and credibility.

IPC's experience demonstrates that host country managers need to regard IPC consultants as having primary loyalty to them. This is especially important in cases where policy implementation is particularly political and/or where the relationship between donor personnel and host country officials is less than intimate. This relationship does not preclude in any way the maintenance of open communication with USAID clients, but does position the Mission more as an interested sponsor. The establishment of such a relationship with host country officials may be a gradual process heavily dependent on the initial operating mode adopted by the consultants, but can be greatly accelerated by the pre-existence of personal relationships between host country officials and individual members of the consulting team.

In The Gambia, for instance, trust in the IPC consulting team by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs was built over time through intensive working interactions and demonstration of the team's growing understanding of the Ministry's needs. IPC's technical assistance in Guinea-Bissau dealing with judicial reform is a good example of the role played by existing personal relationships and trust in building credibility. The former US ambassador to Guinea Bissau led the IPC team. He was able to access top policy makers and make use of personal relationships with key stakeholders that he had established over the years when he had resided in the country. His personal credibility was extended to the entire IPC team and facilitated Guinean acceptance of the strategic management process approach.

### **Task Accomplishment**

### Diagnose the Problem and Engage Client Ownership Successful accomplishment of

Ownership. Successful accomplishment of the consultation task usually begins with a thorough diagnosis of the problem and the client context. It also requires that the client develop ownership over the immediate *process*, be it conducting a workshop, sponsoring a forum, or establishing a task force, for example, *and* over the longer term *policy goals*, for instance, revising economic and trade regulations or implementing judicial reform. With this assertion of ownership, the host country client takes responsibility for the process, places its legitimacy behind the activities, and commits its authority and resources to

following through with policy implementation. However, obtaining the client's public acknowledgment of ownership may be difficult and often requires extensive consultant attention and support. Clients may fear to be associated with a particular policy reform effort, not due to its merits, but because it may have negative downstream implications for certain stakeholders. As well, clients may have only limited resources, control and authority over the policy area.

When clients fail to assert their ownership over the policy or consultation process, for whatever reason, difficulties may ensue. The IPC experience with the Zimbabwe Monopolies Commission exemplifies the problems of implementing policy change without adequate host country ownership. The government officially announced its intention to establish a Monopolies Commission in its agreements with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, suggesting that the idea originated externally. While the laws were being drafted, the two governmental champions of the policy, the Minister and Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, resigned their positions. As a result, there was no one in the government to take responsibility to see the policy through its implementation. In addition, a mixed public-private sector group of key stakeholders, the Competition Council of Zimbabwe, sought to extend debate on the new legislation because they felt that the government was not consulting sufficiently with a broad enough base of business interests, but they too failed to assert their ownership over the policy.

Blend Expert and Process Approaches. Clients often expect consultants to produce concrete products -- to conduct studies, develop legislation, and automate procedures, for example. In such cases, the consultant is viewed by the client as the provider of technical expertise. Such engagements can often be reframed to place such products in a larger strategic context and to draw attention to the *process* by which external assistance is managed. The results of these consultations can offer insight not only into "what to do." but "how to do it."

It is often the case that early demonstration by the IPC team of technical expertise increases client confidence in the team and facilitates client acceptance of the process techniques. While the IPC philosophy focuses, in particular, on the benefits of strategic management and process approaches to policy implementation, the

execution of technical assistance assignments usually is structured to involve a mixture of both expert and process specialists.

Facilitate and Participate. Consultants perform three basic facilitation functions (Rubin, 1981). First, they carefully engineer the physical and social structure of interaction among the principals by sponsoring meetings and workshops, facilitating communications, drawing in potential donors, and providing information and new resources. Second, consultants help the principals structure and analyze the issues. Through facilitative techniques, consultants help clients identify and frame the issues, package and sequence deliberation over the issues, introduce new issues and alternatives, and identify ways to process them and search for acceptable solutions. Third, consultants assist in modifying the psychological climate and motivation of the principals. Consultants seek to develop trust among the principal stakeholders, facilitate concession making without the loss of face, discourage irrational behavior, and reinforce the efficacy of the principals to make decisions.

The client is a full partner in these facilitation activities and, often, gradually takes over the facilitation role. Client stakeholders must interact with the consultant and with other stakeholders to air all relevant points of view on the issue at hand and seek acceptable solutions. Through their active participation, clients resolve problems and disputes among stakeholders and with constituents. By using strategic management approaches, the client not only seeks to develop recommendations on the targeted issue, but also learns valuable analytical and collaborative skills about how that process can be applied in other policy decision making contexts.

### **Exit Strategy**

Train "Inside Outsiders." One approach to institutionalizing strategic management skills in host countries requires the transfer of those skills from expatriate consultants to host country nationals. The result, the development of a corps of local consultants -- "inside outsiders" — is a positive exit strategy in several ways. These local consultants are more likely to have long term accessibility to public and private sector clients. They also possess the legitimacy to deal with certain politically sensitive matters that would be difficult for external consultants to address. As these local consultants progress in their careers, they may serve in various influential positions

as political and civic leaders, senior government officials, or private sector managers. They bring with them their knowledge, experience and skills in applying strategic management processes. These considerations underline the value of transferring skills to inside outsiders as well as to host country decision makers, and suggest that these individuals often serve as important sources of continuity and replication in the strategic management process.

Build Sustaining Institutions. Even those host country nationals who are trained and experienced in strategic management processes may find it difficult to promote the use of these methods over time. It is often helpful to have an institutional structure supporting them, with the resources and legitimacy that such institutions may bring. As a result, in planning the exit strategy for a technical assistance assignment, the consultant and client need to consider the possibility of embedding the strategic management skill base in an existing or new institution.

In Honduras, for example, IPC expatriate consultants helped to establish a policy analysis unit in the Economic Cabinet to assist with the formulation and implementation of a coordinated macroeconomic program. To consolidate the unit's expertise, the IPC team provided training in strategic management processes and a number of technical areas relevant to policy analysis. Beyond its immediate functions, this unit now strives to operate as an insider consulting unit to the various ministries that participate in the Economic Cabinet. In Uganda, IPC helped the Uganda Manufacturers Association develop a consulting and information services operation that serves as a local resource to the association and to the Uganda National Forum and its working groups. The Forum itself is an example of an institution developed, in part, to sustain problem-solving and consensusbuilding between the private and public sectors concerning private investment and export growth.

### **Operational Implications**

The theory on consultation approaches and IPC's practical experience on technical assistance projects suggest several important operational implications for consultant roles in the strategic management of policy change.

### **Responding to Requests for Consultation**

The IPC Project has received many requests for consultation support. Often, the project is asked to field technical experts to conduct particular operational tasks; the role of the IPC consultant is conceived of as providing expert advice rather than process support. In other cases, the project is asked to facilitate the process and conduct analyses independently, without host country participation. Both of these requests run counter to the IPC philosophy of conducting primarily facilitative process consultations with maximum participation and ownership of the host country client.

The project's response to such invitations, where possible, is to seek redesign of the activity so that technical expert consultation becomes only one element of a broader strategic management process. This approach builds local consultants and host country officials into the conduct of the assignment to the maximum feasible extent, incorporates processes such as workshops and other collaborative elements into the scope of work, focuses attention on how information resulting from the assignment can be used in the local decision making process, and uses the overall exercise as a basis for initiating a more collaborative and strategic follow-on phase of the activity.

### **Selecting Appropriate Consultation Roles**

The consultant has a wide range of role combinations to choose from, given the content (expert to process) and guidance (directive to passive) dimensions. How does the consultant select the appropriate blend for a given assignment? Sometimes, it is prescribed by the scope of work. Other times, a preliminary situational assessment must be conducted to evaluate the client's needs and commitment to the issues, the array of interested stakeholders, their positions and interests on the issues, their goals and envisioned outcome, and the political/social/cultural factors in the host country that may affect the assignment. Input into this situational assessment should be provided by governmental and nongovernmental sources. Local consultants and host country stakeholders should participate in developing the assessment. Based on this analysis, the consultant can make initial estimates as to the degree of technical expertise versus process skills that will be required and the extent of passivity versus directiveness that is appropriate. This initial assessment is always adjustable as the consultant-client relationship develops and the assignment progresses through its life cycle stages.

### **Identifying Appropriate Clients**

Sometimes, IPC has been requested to provide assistance without an obvious client or clear agreement with a client. This is problematic because the IPC philosophy emphasizes the need to identify host country clients early and develop effective working relationships with them to ensure the success of any consultation. The consultant's goal should be to use the initial situational assessment to communicate with all of the relevant stakeholders and identify early a set of possible primary clients. Relationship building to develop mutual trust and confidence and to draw the eventual client into an ownership position over the process will consume additional effort, but is absolutely necessary.

### **Assembling Mixed Consultant Teams**

Ideally, the consultants fielded under any IPC Project assignment would have skills in strategic management, process consulting and the technical areas pertinent to the assignment on which they are working. As a practical matter, it is frequently difficult to combine these skills in the same person and there are considerable pressures on individual team members to operate in ways inconsistent with the approach described in this Note. IPC has addressed this in three ways: by ensuring that at least one member of the team (usually the team leader) is fully versed in strategic management and process consulting; by providing orientation and relevant suggestions to teams as part of team preparation; and by making it clear to teams that the effective application of strategic management and process consulting will be central to the way in which the intervention is judged by those directing the project.

### **Dealing with Client Time Constraints**

By definition, those who serve as strategic managers for the implementation of national policy are important people in their countries. Often, these individuals have relatively little time to meet with external consultants, participate in workshops or engage in other time-consuming activities usually associated with strategic management and process consulting. To deal with this problem, IPC has tailored its approach to these realities by ensuring that the time of key decision-makers is devoted to activities that cannot be delegated to subordinates or consultants. It is critical to the IPC approach, however, that the operative decision-makers perceive themselves as managers of the overall strategic management process rather than as just one of the elements of that process which is being managed.

\* \* \* \* \*

Development of effective consultant-client relationships in policy implementation situations is well-documented in several IPC case studies, including the West African Enterprise Network (Orsini and Courcelle, 1996), the West African livestock trade case (Kulibaba, 1995) and the Guinea-Bissau case (Gustafson, 1995). Practical insights into how appropriate partnerships are designed can be drawn from these assessments.

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